I used as the basis of my description those huts which did not yet show signs of the rapid degeneration which are seen today in all areas of Namaland culture. In twenty years will there still be any mat huts like the ones described here? Gradually they will all be a patchwork of rags and discarded objects from white households as are those of Angra Pequena. And where formerly the huts were close together (67) in a

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67. P. Kolben, Caput bonae spei hodiernum etc., Nürnberg 1719 (it was available to me in a German translation in Capetown).

circle, surrounded (66), (68) by a hedge of clipped thorn bushes and

66. Th. Hahn, Die Nama-Hottentotten. Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Ethnographie, (Globus, vol. XII, 1867).

68. G. Fritsch, Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas, ethnographisch und anatomisch beschrieben, mit Atlas. Breslau 1872.

joined to form a kraal (//gaũs, !hafs), and where now scattered groups of huts (!harigu) stand together, soon there will be straight streets easily supervised by police, just as in Keetmanshoop, and finally the last traces of the native dwellings will be swallowed up by the barracks of the locations.

B. Preparation of Leather

Before the white man came to the country skins of domestic and wild animals were the only materials used for clothing and blankets by the Hottentots. Today it is hard to find traces of this custom. The traces are there but you must know how to track them down; for example there are the skin sack dresses of the women who have not quite divorced themselves from the customs of their ancestors in spite of all printed material and bright cheap cloth, and who still preserve their karosses and skin aprons. Or out in the veld one can find traces in the huts of impoverished cattle herders who can only occasionally afford the luxury of European articles and the rest of the time carry on their handicrafts as the Hottentots did 50 years ago. I learned from such people.

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between different kraals, and relations with neighbouring tribes or with the European settlers. In this council the authority of the chief was dependent mainly upon his personality. His normal duties were to direct and sum up the deliberations of its members, who sat around him in a circle. If he was a man of strong character, he could succeed in imposing his will upon the others; otherwise his opinion might be disregarded, and he had to abide by the decision of the majority. 643 619 622 645

When not occupied with tribal affairs of this nature, the chief was concerned merely with the government of his own local group, i.e. of the kraal where he resided. In this respect he played the part of an ordinary kraal headman. Every large Hottentot kraal had its own recognized headman or "captain" (usually spoken of in the early Cape Records by the Dutch title "kapitein"), whose status was hereditary in the same way as that of the chief. The ceremonies of accession, as described by Kolb, were also similar to those of the chief, except that the headman had to make his pledge before the adult men of the kraal, and to provide the feast for them. All these men constituted a loosely-organized council over which he presided. They acted in the first instance as a court of justice. They met to settle disputes of right and property between the inhabitants of the kraal, and tried and punished criminal offences committed within their jurisdiction. The verdict arrived at was pronounced by the headman, and where the death penalty was imposed his was the first hand to smite down the culprit. There was no appeal from their decision or sentence to the main tribal council. They also dealt with all matters affecting the common interests of the kraal, such as removal to new pasture grounds, public feasts and sacrificial offerings. The rôle of the headman in this council was roughly similar to that of the chief in the tribal council, and the degree of his authority was determined by the strength of his character. In time of war he also had the command, under the chief of the tribe, of the troops supplied from his kraal. [643] 621 621 692 [623]

Neither the chief nor the headmen had special insignia or other marks of office, except that their karosses were made of leopard or wild cat skins; but the Dutch, when they entered into alliances with the Hottentot tribes, presented to the former a crown of copper, and to each of the latter a copper-headed cane, which henceforth were regarded as distinguishing badges of authority. The chief was not entitled to the personal services of his subjects, nor, says Kolb, did he receive anything in the nature of tribute or public 643 [622] 554

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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affairs, and they can act as assessors at the deliberations of the councillors. The chief cannot disregard their opinion, otherwise internal dissensions and even tribal disruption may ensue.[1] They serve to give more emphasis to the popular voice in determining public policy.

The council is the tribal executive. It makes wars and treaties, rules and regulations for the public conduct, and deals with the internal and economic affairs of the tribe, as well as with inter-tribal relations. In its proceedings the vote of the chief is generally of no greater weight or value than that of any one of the elected councillors, although his expressed opinion bears great influence and probably ensures a majority for him in most cases, while if he is a man of strong character he may even succeed in dominating the others. The council is also the main court of justice. Civil litigants and criminals, who are usually dealt with by the magistrate or the sub-chiefs acting as the chief's deputies, can resort to it as a final court of appeal. Cases of serious import or serious charges involving possibly a sentence of capital punishment are generally dealt with by it as a court of first instance. In such cases an appeal lies to the chief in person, who has the right to exercise his prerogative of mercy. No capital punishment can legally be executed before he has expressly given his sanction.

In large tribes each outlying village or kraal is governed by a sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), appointed as deputy of the tribal chief by the chief-in-council. Often enough this sub-chief is one of the chief's closer relatives in the male line. He has his own local councillors, court, and officials, and can deal with all matters arising within his jurisdiction. There is always an appeal from his court to the main tribal council although as a rule the chief never deals with such an appeal without first referring the matter back to him for report.

Apart from the fact that the chief is generally the wealthiest man in the tribe, he is not distinguished in any special way from his subjects. At most his hut is somewhat bigger, and at communal meals he receives the best portion of meat, viz. the hind quarters.[2] Shaw, writing in 1821,[3] says also that the chief claims a part of every animal taken in hunting; moreover, on the death of his wife, every adult man has to give him a cow, which, however, is returned after a certain

[1] Cf. the illustrations given of this by von François, op. cit., pp. 108, 112.
[2] Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 177.
[3] Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, 1821, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii; cf. Alexander, Narrative of Voyage to Africa, etc.

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628 in case of accidental death the relatives of the deceased would demand compensation in cattle. The murderer also had to slaughter a cow
[783] for a purification meal to which he invited his relatives and friends and those of the deceased. He himself was not allowed to eat of the meat, which was consumed by the guests, but was smeared with the blood as a sign of expiation. Von Burgsdorff (Kohler's informant) says, on the other hand, that the blood feud was exercised even when the death was accidental, and that the deed could in no way be compounded. Deliberate murder always provoked blood vengeance. The nearest male relative of the dead man had to seek out the murderer and kill him. If the murderer himself could not be got at, one of his clansmen, preferably a close relative, could be killed in his stead. If the avenger fell in the fight, his next relative had to carry on the feud; while if there were no close relative to avenge the murdered man, his clansmen would feel it an obligation to do so. The formal trial and punishment of a murderer by the tribal council is probably an institution of later days, but we have not enough information about the blood feud to determine the exact relation between these two forms of dealing with homicide.

Inter-Tribal Relations

Tribal Seniority

619 It has already been shown, in the course of our discussion, that
621 the nomadic pastoral life of the Hottentots, conditioned by the need of grass and water for their herds, compelled them to live and move in compact, often widely-separated communities. As soon as any group became so large that permanent cohesion and common movement proved impossible or even inconvenient, a swarm was of necessity thrown off, which moved to a distance in order to acquire a new pasture of sufficient extent for its use. In this way, for example, the members of a Nama tribe would become scattered over the country in smaller groups, each consisting of a clan or of some part of a clan. Such an offshoot might continue to regard itself at first as part of the parent tribe, but as it gradually increased in numbers and strength it would tend to claim independence and ultimately win acknowledgment as a separate tribe.

619 Thus, as we have seen, the seven principal tribes of the indigenous
648 Naman of South-West Africa are all traditionally descended from one line of ancestors, although in spite of this claim to a common ancestry the tribes have for a long time been independent of one

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101 connection. They mean the big group of *//Khauas*, and the young group, or, literally, the children, of the *//Khauas*. The derivation of the name *//Khauas* I do not know. The Topnaars, or the *≠Aunin*, are the people of the point, referring to their inhabiting the sea coast, the extreme point of occupation of the Nama. An alternative name is the *!Gumis* of which I do not know the meaning.

• 621 All these groups which I have enumerated I propose to speak of as "tribes," for, in spite of their claim to a common ancestry, these groups have been for a long time independent of one another. 423 Each group has its acknowledged chief and its acknowledged fountains, though before the coming of the white man and of the Oriams the boundaries between the different groups were not marked in any clear manner. In an old document, translated in the Rhenish Missionary Record for 1854,[4] the chief of the Rooi Natie complains that the Berseba Hottentots have taken possession of one of his fountains. He gives them permission to stay, but states specifically that this does not mean that he gives over the fountain to them; "the water is my water," he says again and again. We shall also see a little later that the different water holes, or fountains, in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific groups. This did not mean that other people could not use this water, but that one group had a prior claim to it established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for long would ask permission to do so.

175 A certain light is thrown on the antiquity of these different divisions of the Nama people by the record of the travels of the 621 Frenchman, Le Vaillant. Travelling north of the Orange river in 1783, he came to an encampment of Hottentots who called themselves Gami nu Khois.[5] The place to which he went, and the name, both point to the fact that he found himself among the *!Gami ≠Nun*, or *!Gami ≠Nu Khoin* (*Khoin* meaning "people"), so that at least as early as 1783 the *!Gami ≠Nun* formed a distinct group.

[4] p. 153.

[5] F. Le Vaillant, Second Voyage dans l'Interieur de l'Afrique, Vol. II, p. 261. The author spells the name "Cammiesquois."

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161 blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 3000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

619 361 The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarts, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gei Khoin*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

178 It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

128 The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

621 614 If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

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that is, of groups of people claiming to be related in the male line; and that one of these sibs claims seniority. The chieftainship is hereditary in this senior sib and is inherited in the male line. In some cases I have been given traditions of the formation of the tribe, the various sibs claiming relationship with one another in the far distant past, but in no case has it been possible to trace this relationship genealogically. Each sib names itself eponymously from its first known ancestor, or from the ancestor under whom it first claimed independence. The Nama themselves recognize these divisions into tribes and sibs, the tribe being called *!Haus*, and the sibs *!Hau !Nati*, that is, things within the tribe (*!haus*, tribe; *!na*, preposition in, turned into a noun by the suffix *s* for the singular or *ti* for the plural).

The sibs of the Swartbooi tribe are as follows: */Gari Gein; /Gari !Nagaman; /Gari ǂKarin; //Neigaman; Goamun; !Gurusen; //Khou Tanasen; !Ga ei Tanasen; !Neise ein; !Oa Gaon.* Two of these sibs are formed by people who were incorporated in the Swartbooi tribe after the break-up of the Groot Doode tribe who at one time lived near the Swartboois. (The old headquarters of the Swartbooi tribe were at Rehoboth. The tribe fled from there during the Africaner war with the Herero, and fought its way northwards to Franzfontein during the eighties of last century.)

Of the other sibs it will be noticed that three among them have the same name, */Gari*. The name */Garib* is still found among the Nama as a name of a person. The sibs are the big (*Gein*) */Garin*, the next (*!Nagaman*) */Garin*, and the little (*ǂKarin*) */Garin*. Now, it is the Hottentot custom for all sons of a woman to have her name, and they are distinguished from one another by just the epithets used here, the eldest being called the big one (*geib*), the second the next one (*!nagamab*), the third the dark one (*ǂnub*) or the light one (*!heib*) or the tall one (*garub*), and so on, while the youngest will be called the little one (*ǂkarib*) or the young one (*ǂaub*).

The legend of the Swartboois themselves is that they separated from the *Gei //Khauan*, the parent tribe, under the leadership of the */Garin* family, and that the three leaders became the ancestors of the three chief sibs of the tribe. The *//Khou Tanasen*,

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614 the *//Neigaman*, and the *!Gurusin* are said to be sibs descended
● 621 from the sisters of these brothers whose husbands remained with the wives' people, instead of taking their wives to their own tribes, or sibs, as is usually done. It is still a Nama custom that [591] a woman should remain with her own people if there is good reason for it, and a woman often marries a man on that understanding. At the same time marriages between members of different tribes were very frequent in the past, and the women of a family might be scattered far and wide over the country after marriage.

622 When the tribe was first formed, the chieftainship was in the
614 */Gari Gein* sib, as one would expect, but nowadays the chieftainship has passed to the second branch, the */Gari !Nagaman*. According to the headmen of the tribe, who corroborate what the present chief, David Swartbooi, told me, the chieftainship passed from the one sib to the other when the elder branch became almost extinct. There are to-day only two or three people represented in this sib.

622 There are in all ten chiefs concerning whom I obtained informa-
614 tion. The earliest to be remembered is /Khanabib, who is followed
551 in order by Tsamkau, Tsaugab, Tsauxab, ≠Aubib, !Huisib, William Swartbooi (Sir James Alexander's friend), then !Huisib's son !Habib Abraham Swartbooi, then !Habib's son Cornelius Swartbooi /Hoa/arab, then William Swartbooi's youngest son !Habib ≠ami, and now the latter's son !Hanamub David Swartbooi. David was from 1897 until 1923 a prisoner in Windhoek, owing to supposed intrigues against the Germans, but has now been allowed to go back to his tribe in Franzfontein. He is an old man now, so that his son, Petrus Swartbooi, !Hara Geib, has actually been made headman of the tribe by the present Administration.

614 It is interesting to note that the */Gari !Nagaman* are begin-
551 ning to drop this name for the sib and to call themselves Tsauxan, after the chief of that name whom they claim as the first chief to come from their sib. Further, there is a sib being formed from these *Tsauxan* the members of which call themselves */Oa Gaon*, which means the younger branch of the chief's (*gaob*) sib. They have not taken any other name for themselves as yet, and are

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not likely to do so as the custom of using Dutch surnames is increasing and the old Nama names are falling into disuse.

There is no name for the families which together go to form a sib. They are also called *!Hau !Nati*. These families to-day have Dutch, or at any rate European, surnames, and though they claim to be blood kinsmen and in former days would not have intermarried, it is not now possible to trace any genealogical connection between these families. All the members of the chief's sib call themselves Swartboois, a name which seems to have been applied in the first instance to William Swartbooi whose Nama name, !Huisib, however, means the root of a special kind of acacia. In the */Gari ≠Karin* sib we get the Hendricks as the chief family; in the *!Gurusin* sib there are at least four families, the Swartboois, Gertzes, Richters, Van der Byls. The *//Neigman* sib has three families represented to-day, the Davids, the Swartboois, the Linders. The !Oa Gaon are the Petersens, whilst the Goamun's are represented to-day by the Orlam family, the *//Khou Tanasen* by the Kido and the Branda families, the */Gari Gein* by only one family, the *Matibis*, and the *!Neisi ein* by the Beukes family.

The analysis of the sib structure of this tribe shows, I think, the whole mechanism by which sibs and tribes are formed among the Nama. A large and flourishing family will very often have its own favorite pasturing grounds and be so large as to exclude members of other families or sibs. In course of time they become sufficient unto themselves, and the headman begins to play the part of chief. They arrange their migrations to suit themselves independently of the other members of the tribe, and in course of time are acknowledged to be independent. Then, as the families increase, descendants of the different brothers group themselves together more closely and form sibs and sub-sibs. In this way a new tribe develops from a sib, or a part of a sib, of the parent tribe.

My information is most complete and definite in regard to the Swartboois and the Topnaars, but, so far as it goes, the evidence from the other tribes is in complete agreement with the course of development outlined above. The Topnaar tribe is to-day divided into two sections. One of these lives far away to

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the north in the Kaokoveld whither it retired after the defeat of the Hottentots by the Herero in the sixties of last century The other section lives in the dunes around Walvis Bay and in the bed of the Kuisib river at various places. The people in the north are reduced to a mere handful and those in the south are probably the most miserable of all the remnants of the Nama, though in Sir James Alexander's time they were described as being fine, handsome people.[8] My information about these people was obtained from the daughter of one of the last chiefs, an intelligent old woman, Khaxas, and from some of the headmen of the last recognized chief of the tribe, Piet //Eibib, who had himself died before I visited the tribe in 1912. According to the information of these old people, the tribe originally lived far to the north in the region to which one branch has again retired. When they first came to Walvis Bay, another Nama people, the */Namixan*, were in control, one of the sibs of this people being called the *≠Ai //Kumsin*. These people were completely defeated and the remnant incorporated in the sibs of the newcomers who called themselves *Mu//een*, so that today no */Namixan* are to be found. The sibs of the *Mu//een* are the *//Hornibin Gein; //Hornibin /Goan;* the *!Noraban;* the */Ubuxan;* and the */Heibin*. There are today very few of these pure *Mu//een* people left. The Nama population of Walvis Bay consists now of stragglers from all the tribes and of half-breeds of many different nations.

The sibs of the *Gei//Khauan* I have been able to learn from the few old men who still represent this tribe. One of these men, !Goi ep, claims to be the hereditary chief of the people and is so acknowledged by the handful who are left of this once large tribe. Most of the sibs named to me have now no representatives at all. The rest are represented by a few individuals. It is impossible to say whether the list is complete, because the Nama very easily forget a sib or family which has no representatives living.

The sibs are *!Khabiron; !Nurisin (extinct); //Nani≠nun; //Nani /Aban; /Hana !Gaon; //Naobxa !Garien; /Kabun; !Hoara-*

[8] *L. c.*, vol. I, p. 72.

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sin; Gamadamin; //Gubu ≠Karin; !Khaian; !Gaba ≠Karin; //Khau ≠Nun; //Khau Tanasin; ≠Khari ≠Namen.[9] The chieftainship was held by the *//Nani /aban*, the red *//Nanin*. Whether the term Rooi Natie, Red Nation, by which this tribe has always been called in Dutch, is derived from the name of this sib I do not know, but it may be. From the names of the sibs it is easy to see that there must have been many more sibs at one time. Thus, one sib is called the small *//Gubun* which makes it likely that there was at least one other *//Gubun sib* from which it had to be distinguished. Another sib is the small *!Gaban*, and so on. It will be noticed that there are two sibs called *//Khauan*, the *//Khau Tanasin* and the *//Khau ≠Nun*, while the whole tribe is called *//Khauan Gein* or *Gei //Khauan*. One of these sibs, the *//Khau Tanasin*, is the same as we found among the Swartboois, while the Swartbooi tribal name is taken from this same sib name, the *//Khauan /Goan*. The tradition of these two tribes, therefore, that they are originally one tribe, is corroborated by the evidence from the sib structure.[9]

The *//Haboben* tribe is also broken up and scattered now. I have never lived among this tribe and have had to gather my information concerning it from chance individuals living in other tribes. In 1923 I visited a very old man of this tribe in the Windhoek gaol. He had been the chief advisor of the chief who had also been in prison but who had died. Unfortunately, the old man's memory was failing and I cannot be sure that the information from him is complete. The sibs, so far as I have them, are as follows: */Haoen; Dou Gein; !Amen; Garsin; Ourin.* The *Ourin* was the sib in which the chieftainship was hereditary.

The remnants of the *!Khara Gei Khoin* are in the Kalahari desert, and none of the men I have met in the Protectorate have been able to give me any information concerning their old tribal structure. At the present day all these people have Dutch names.

The */Gami ≠Nun*, though one of the old aboriginal tribes, have lived for so long on one of the highways into the Protectorate

[9] Seven of these sibs are mentioned by the first missionary to the Rooi Natie, Vollmer; cf. Rheinischer Missionsbericht, 1866, p. 277.

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614 that they have been very much exposed to incoming influences. To-day they have all Dutch surnames. I have, however, been 621 able to collect some of the old Nama names which were in use before the European surnames came into common use. The chief's sib has now the surname Christian, and they call themselves the *!Gami ≠Nun*. The Matros family have the Nama name *Tsububin*. The Aprils are the *!Nanin*. The Hackskind family takes its Dutch name from a translation of the old Nama name *!Noarin* (*!Noas* = the heel). Another sib is called the *!Nurubin;* a third the */Nabasin*, another the */Arimun*, who to-day also have the surname Christian. In giving me these names the old headman, Christian, gave me the fountains in the Bondelswart territory which were known as the headquarters of these different sibs.

The Orlam tribes, that is, the tribes who came into the territory from the south, have all surnames taken from Europeans, such as the Izaacs, the Goliaths, the Christians, the Hendricks, and I have found it impossible to get their old Nama sib names from them. In the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, Band 15, 1901, however, there is an account of the sibs of the /Hobesin, given by the then Bezirkshauptmann von Burgsdorff in answer to a questionnaire sent out by Dr. Kohler. According to him there were seven sibs among the /Hobesin:

1) */Khowan* (families: Witboois, Dragoners, Hanses, Kaisers).
2) *!Amin* (Izaacs, Gertses, Zals, Banks, Vishers).
3) *Dausan* (Jods, Classens, Stewes, Sewis, Jahrs).
4) *!Noresen* (Jantzes).
5) */Kharan* (Piqueurs, Marius).
6) *!Hawe ≠*Nun (Romans, Jacobs, Links).
7) */Khorin* (Pitters, Fredericks, Jochems, Links).

This evidence from the Witboois is sufficient to show that the structure of these tribes from the south was essentially the same as that of the tribes of the Great Namaqua.

361 The families claiming to belong to a sib still tend to live together, though the old original camping order has long been given up. Information from many sources, however, enables one to reconstruct the old encampment, and this reconstruction agrees

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with information given to us by the early travellers among the Hottentots.

In the old days a Nama encampment was in the form of a great circle. The whole was enclosed with a great fence of thorn in which there were two gateways, one to the north, the other to the south. Within this fence, round the circumference, were the huts of the *!Haus*, or tribe. There might on certain occasions be a whole tribe encamped in such a manner, and, in any case, there were usually some representatives of each of the sibs at the chief's headquarters, though there might be other encampments in other parts of the tribal territory. In the great open space in the centre the cattle were herded at night. Special kraals were made for the calves and the lambs, but neither now nor in the past did the Hottentots make kraals for the cattle or the sheep. These animals just lie in front of the owner's hut for the night.

The following is the order in which the sibs of the Swartbools camped. In the western portion of the circle stood the huts of the chief's sib, facing east. On his left, as one faces east, came in order the *!Oa Gaon*, the *//Naigaman*, the *!Gurusin*, the */Gari Karin*, the *!Neise ein*. On his right in order came the *Goamun*, the *//Khau Tanasen*, the */Gari Gein*, and the *!Ga ei Tanasen*, meeting the *!Neise ein* in the east of the circle. The Topnaars encamped in the order *//Hornibin Gein*, *//Hornibin /Goan*, *!Noraban*, */Ubuxan*, */Heibin*, starting from the *//Hornibin Gein* in the west and continuing round the circle to the left.

Through the whole course of Nama history the sib was the strongest social unit the Nama ever attained. Time and time again a strong sib would go off on its own, asserting its independence of the others, and sib loyalty was always stronger than tribal loyalty. It is no wonder, then, that the chief among the Hottentots was little more than *primus inter pares*. He was acknowledged to be the head of the senior sib and, if a person of fine character, was accorded a great deal of respect, but the heads of the other sibs acted as his council and he could not do much without their coöperation. The whole conduct of affairs, then, in a Nama tribe was, and is, the concern of the older men of the tribe.

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614 The sib loyalty was very strong. Members of a sib all con-
582 sidered themselves to be blood relatives, and marriage in the sib was strictly forbidden. Nowadays, these rules are broken but the older men still shake their heads over the marriages of the younger generation.

614 Membership of a sib guaranteed to a person a very strong
627 measure of protection, for he could always count on the support of his fellow sib members. We know from accounts left to us by travellers among the Nama in the early part of last century that at that time the vendetta was still in full force among them; that is, the chief was unable in the interests of the whole people to prevent two sibs from carrying out revenge one on the other, or to force them to accept compensation. Sir James Alexander gives an account[10] of such a vendetta among the Bondelswarts when he was travelling among them in 1836, and in the Rhenish Mission Record for 1856 there is an account[11] of another vendetta at Bethany among the !Aman Hottentots.

614 Though the old camping order of the sibs has long been given
621 up, the order of camping of the families within the sib is still maintained in many instances, and could be studied among the Swartboois even in 1923. It has already been stated that among all the Hottentots all the sons of one woman are called by her big name, her *gei khoi /ons*, while all the daughters are similarly called after the *gei khoi /ons* of the father. In a settlement, therefore, we should expect to find the huts of a number of men called by the same name. This is exactly what we do find, and they are ranged in order of seniority, the eldest brother furthest to the right, the youngest furthest to the left, as we stand, facing outwards, at the doorway of any hut.

621 In the past the Hottentots were polygynists, but never to the
592 same extent as the Bantu tribes around them. Nowadays they
[595] are ostensibly monogamists, but the standard of morals is extremely low among them. Each family has its own mat hut where the children remain until they marry. I have found a number of

[10] An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, 2 vols., London, 1838; vol. I, p. 187; see also p. 211.

[11] *L.c.*, p.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1925
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

young girls sharing a hut together, and it may happen that a number of boys also share a hut, but this is not the general rule among the Nama. It is much more usual for the family to remain together until a new household is formed after marriage. Near each of the brothers in a family would be grouped his immediate dependents; his married sons on his right, the eldest furthest to the right, the youngest nearest to his father's hut, while on the left would be any married daughter who had not yet removed to her husband's people and any widowed sister who had come home to live with him. Other dependents of various kinds would also be camped to the left of a man's hut. Chief among these would be the *!Gan*, or servants, hardly to be called slaves, who were generally of the Berg Damara race, a people of negro affiliations which has long been in subjection to the Hottentots. Many Berg Damara even now are attached to Hottentot families as dependents. These people are free to marry as they will, and are never bought or sold, but they generally remain attached to the same family for long periods. Family servants is perhaps the best name for them. Many of those whose history I have studied were taken, or picked up, as small children by the Hottentots after one of the numerous wars when families were scattered and the children were left helpless in the veld, and they were then brought up in the family, acting as herdboys and in general counting themselves as members of the family. Intermixture of this black Race with the Nama is now taking place, but there is little trace of it having been frequent in the past.

It remains now to describe the conduct of people towards one another in the society, and this depends to a very large extent upon the kinship system, though relative age is also an important factor.

The kinship system of the Hottentots is a classificatory one with many similarities to the kinship systems found among the Bantu. The relative ages of the person speaking and of the person spoken of are very carefully recognised in these kinship terms. There is a special term for the mother's brother who stands in a very close relation to his sisters' children, and there are special

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13
NAMA

773 778 graves of his are to be found in the Cape Colony as well as in Nama- and Hereroland. He who passes these graves, consisting of stones piled up along old native paths, must lay a stone, a twig or something to this description on the grave in salutation to him, lest he meet with an accident on his way. I was interested to know whether there were really human remains under these often stately monuments of piled up stones. Indeed, I was told that nothing of the kind was to be found under these heaps of stone, as Heiseb was resurrected; but I did not believe these sayings. I, however, found that the earth under these sepulchral monuments was indeed empty. This curious incident instigated me to investigate this matter further as such heaps of stone, worshipped by all natives, are found in all parts of South West and what, is more, their worship was even known at the Cape according to old reports. My study of the Bushmen probably brought me on the right track and the customs of the Ovambo indicate similar phenomena. Up to this day the Ovambo pile up the hard fruit of a certain tree on the boundaries of the territory they lay claim to, to serve as beacons which are respected everywhere.

773 778 621 Among the Tjimba I found that they demark their pastures at certain points of the boundary with heaps of stones. Unless all the information is fallacious, the Bushmen, who were the only inhabitants of South West in olden times, also knew this custom. They erected stone beacons at those places where strangers used to cross their tribal boundaries on foot, *i.e.*, where there were old paths. The implication of this for the strange hunter and gleaner was that all their activities within these boundaries would be regarded as robbery. It is not improbable that both the Ovambo and the Tjimba of the Kaokoveld took over this way of demarking their tribal boundaries from the Bushmen.

Afterwards when the Bushmen had to evacuate their country for the new immigrants, the Hottentots, Bergdama, Herero, etc., these boundary-marks appeared to them as graves, which were revered as the graves of their own ancestors by piling stones on them.

The myth now included these imposing tokens of love and called them Heitsi-eibeb, *i.e.*, place, where Heiseb lingers.

773 821 5. The moon plays a very great rôle in the Nama mythology. It was she who brought death to humanity by means of a wrong message. Up to then humanity had been immortal, but her words: "As I die and live again—new moon and waxing moon—so will ye also die and live again," were conveyed in a contrary sense by the hare. They expect the same things from the moon that they obtain by entreating Tsui-762 //Goab. Prayers were also sent up to her at the occasions 535 of their moonlight dances. Similar dances of a religious 178 character were also organised in the beginning of Spring when the Pleiades appeared. Now-a-days the prayers have

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

quas, Goringhaikonas, Great and Little Karichuriquas, Hosaas, Chainouquas, Kobonas, Sonquas, Namaquas, Heusaquas, Brigoudyns, and Hankumquas. The first eight are close to the Cape, the remotest of them being not more than fifty miles away, but the rest lie further inland. The Gorachouquas, Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas are almost always found very near to the Cape, not more than four or five hours' journey from the Fort of Good Hope: the Goringhaikonas or Watermen, especially, are only a quarter of an hour away.

GORINGHAIKONAS.

The Goringhaikonas or Watermen[5]) are under a chief, whose native name is Demtaä, but our countrymen call him Klaas Das,[6]) because, having at one time committed some offence against the Dutch, he was taken prisoner and banished to Dassen Island. He was afterwards released owing to good behaviour and restored to his former position. They have a camp of only four or five huts, number about fifty souls with women and children, and are the poorest of all the Hottentots.

GORACHOUQUAS.

The Gorachouquas[7]) our countrymen called the Tobacco Thieves, because they once stole away all the tobacco plants

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the seal hunters to Dassen Island in 1654, and been kept there to be taught Dutch, "which he understands pretty well" (D. Oct. 12, 1654); in Sept. 1655, during the absence of Herry, he acted as interpreter for the Dutch at the Fort (D. Sept. 15, 1655). There is no record of his having been "taken prisoner and banished," as stated by Dapper. His native name is given in van Riebeeck's journal as Khaik Ana Makouka (June 8, 1658) or Khaikana Makoukoa (July 5, 1659).

[7]) Also referred to in the early records as Chorachouquas, Ghorachouquas, Goerachouqua, Gorachouna, etc. They are generally held to have been the ancestors of the modern Korana division of Hottentots (for a detailed and non-committal analysis of this theory see Maingard, *Bantu Studies*, vi, 106-114), and to have been named after their first chief !Kora (i.e. Chora); their tribal name as given in the records would therefore mean "men of !Kora" (-choqua or *khoekhoa*, men. Maingard, *op cit.*, 111).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

534 others are tuned. I could obtain no names for any other flutes; the Korana said that they merely "followed on."

535 115 In December 1931, Professor Maingard obtained a description of the reed-flute dance, his informant being Saul van Eck, an old Kora who also supplied me with information. The *≠a:di*, he said, were played by men moving in a circle (*ina≠na:e ≠nammi*). In the middle of the circle was a man with a stick who beat the time. The minimum number of reed-flutes was three, which had the same names as the first three on my list above. But there were often as many as twelve, or even fourteen or more players. The whole kraal would join in the dance, even if they were not playing. The women stamped round in an outer circle, clapping their hands (*ina //am*) and shaking their buttocks (*!hare khwedi*). Four o'clock in the afternoon (*haka kororo:p*) was the right time to begin the dance, which lasted until morning (*//kwa:ba*). Oxen were killed for the dancers.

535 621 786 797 After considerable questioning we succeeded in eliciting the information that occasionally there was a kind of "competition" between kraals, in which the reed-dance played a very important part. There can be little doubt that it was this aspect of the dance that roused the missionaries against it, although unquestionably their practice has always been to eradicate all forms of music peculiar to the peoples whom they wish to convert, and in its place to impose that to which they themselves have been accustomed. The inhabitants of one kraal would visit those of another, who met the visitors half-way, the women of each kraal accompanying their men. Oxen would be slaughtered by the hosts for the entertainment of the visitors, and the reed-dance would begin, the women of the one kraal dancing with the men of the other. The dance developed into an orgy, the women abandoning themselves to the men. As my informant put it, "they mixed."

114 533 535 Stow has given us a description of this practice on pages 114-115, but attributes it to the Bushmen, who, so far as I have been able to find out, never originally played reed-flutes; and on page 116 he states that "The Koranas had a dance which was identical with the one described, but as the Bushmen of the north practised it for generations before the Koranas made their appearance on the banks of the 'Nu'Gariep, it is not improbable that the latter derived their knowledge of it from the older race." But it is necessary to quote a passage written by Stow, which should follow the last paragraph on page 115, and which was ill-advisedly deleted by his editor Theal. I reproduce the passage, copied from Stow's original manuscript, with the kind permission of the Trustees of